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TERREP. INFORM CONSULS, GENEVA FOR RSO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: ASEC, PTER, XG
 SUBJECT: SECURITY THREAT ASSESSMENT: THE CURRENT
 TERRORIST THREAT TO U.S. INTERESTS IN WESTERN EUROPE -
 PART II

REF: 35 STATE 042852

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USSE/IO/FIB, DOE EQ:ATTN: RENWICK, DIA/OS-1B,
 CIA/CGI/TNAD/TAG

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS IS PART II OF THE SY/THREAT
 ANALYSIS GROUP ASSESSMENT PRESENTED IN REFTEL.

3. THE APPARENT FORMATION OF AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST
 FRONT OF WEST EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS IS A
 SIGNIFICANT AND DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENT FOR THE SECURITY
 OF U.S. INTERESTS IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE JANUARY 1985
 JOINT COMMUNIQUE BY DIRECT ACTION (DA) AND THE RED ARMY
 FRACTION (RAF) WHICH FORMALLY PROCLAIMED THIS "FRONT"
 MUST BE SEEN AS AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS WHOSE ORIGINS
 GO BACK AT LEAST UNTIL 1978. BY OUR ESTIMATE, THIS IS
 THE THIRD VIABLE ATTEMPT BY EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS

TO ADVANCE THE "FRONT" FROM A CONCEPT TO A CONCRETE
 ORGANIZATIONAL STAGE. THE FIRST ATTEMPT TOOK PLACE
 DURING 1978-1979 WHEN RED BRIGADE (RB) STRATEGIC
 RESOLUTIONS AND RAF ATTACK COMMUNIQUE BEGAN TO REFER
 TO THE CONCEPT OF AN "ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT"
 IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE FEBRUARY 1978 "STRATEGIC
 RESOLUTION OF THE RED BRIGADES" CALLED FOR THE
 "POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF ALL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS
 AND FORCES OPERATING IN EUROPE INTO ONE
 ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRATEGY. THE SECOND RED BRIGADE
 COMMUNIQUE (DATED 3/25/78) ON THE MARCH 1978 KIDNAPPING
 OF ALDO MORO REPEATED THIS CALL AND STATES THAT THE EIC
 HAS SET UP A "COMMON POLICE ORGANIZATION" THAT WAS AN
 INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF TERROR. ... THE SLAUGHTERERS OF

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IRA MILITANTS, MEMBERS OF THE WEST GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION (RAF). THIS REC COUNTER-TERROR CENTER COULD ONLY BE DEFEATED BY THE "INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE FIGHT AGAINST WESTERN IMPERIALISM BY MEANS OF A STRATEGIC UNITY OF COMMUNIST FORCES." RAF REFERENCES TO THE CONCEPT OF AN "ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT" CAN BE TRACED BACK AT LEAST TO SEPTEMBER 13, 1974 WHEN ULRIKE MEINHOF SPOKE ABOUT "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND THE "MILITARY RELEVANCE" OF THE RED BRIGADES IN THE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE." THE RAF LEADERSHIP, KNOWN AT THE TIME AS THE BAADER-MEINHOF GANG (BMG), WAS IN PRISON IN 1974 AND THE GROUP WAS NOT IN THE POSITION TO GO BEYOND CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSIONS OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM." IT WASN'T UNTIL 1979 THAT THE RAF, THEN UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF BRIGITTE MORNHAUPT AND CHRISTIAN KLAP, ATTEMPTED TO ADVANCE THE "FRONT" FROM A CONCEPTUAL TO ORGANIZATIONAL STAGE.

4. IN JUNE 1979 THE RAF ATTEMPTED TO ASSASSINATE THEN NATO COMMANDER GENERAL ALEXANDER HAIG NEAR MONS, BELGIUM (22 KM. FROM THE QUARRY WHERE THE JUNE 3, 1984 THEFT OF 300 KG. OF DYNAMITE TOOK PLACE, LATER USED BY DA AND THE RAF) BY ATTACKING HIS THREE-CAR MOTORCADE WITH COMMUNIST-DESIGNATED EXPLOSIVES PLANTED IN A SMALL CULVERT. THE ATTACK COMMUNIQUE CALLED FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF "U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ITS BASES EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD" AND THE ORGANIZATION OF "THE ARMED OPPOSITION IN WESTERN EUROPE." IT ENDED WITH THE CALL TO "BUILD UP THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT IN THE METROPOLIS." WHILE THE FEBRUARY 1978 RESOLUTION OF THE RED BRIGADES WAS THE FIRST EFFORT TO ADVANCE THE CONCEPT OF THE "FRONT" TO AN ORGANIZATIONAL STAGE, THE RAF ATTACK ON HAIG WAS THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE CONCEPT INTO A TERRORIST ATTACK. THE RB AND RAF

ATTEMPTS TO DEVELOP THE "FRONT" IN 1978-1979 FAILED FOR

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SEVERAL REASONS: (1) ASIDE FROM THE RB AND RAF THERE WAS LITTLE SIGNIFICANT INDIGENOUS TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES--THE "FRONT" WAS GEOGRAPHICALLY LIMITED. (2) THE EXECUTION OF MORE CALVANIZED THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT INTO INSTITUTING NEW COUNTER-TERRORIST MEASURES, TO INCLUDE CENTRALIZING THE EFFORT UNDER GENERAL DALLA CHIESA IN AUGUST 1978--THE START OF THE GRADUAL DISINTEGRATION OF THE RB (ACCELERATED BY THE FEBRUARY 1980 ARREST AND CONFESSIONS OF TURIN COLUMN LEADER PATRIZIO Peci), AND (3) THE RAF SUFFERED SEVERAL POLICE ARRESTS IN 1979 AND EARLY 1980 WHICH INTERRUPTED SEVERAL OF THEIR PLANS FOR MORE ATTACKS. THE RB AND RAF SUFFERED OPERATIONAL DEFEATS WHICH HAMPERED THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF THE "FRONT." A SECOND ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE THE "FRONT" PROBABLY TOOK PLACE IN LATE 1981. THE RAF CARRIED OUT AN ATTACK IN AUGUST AGAINST RAMSTEIN AIR BASE AND IN SEPTEMBER AN REC ATTACK ON GENERAL KROESSEN'S MOTORCADE. THE ATTACK COMMUNIQUE ON KROESSEN NOTED THAT THE "FIGHT BY ANTI-IMPERIALIST MILITANTS ARE THE LINES WHICH ARE FORMING OR WILL BE FORMING INTO AN ENTITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT IN WESTERN EUROPE." THIS COMMUNIQUE ENDED WITH THE SLOGAN, "THE WEST EUROPEAN GUERRILLA IS SHAKING THIS CENTER." THIS IS THE SAME PHRASE THAT HAS BEEN USED AT THE END OF THE RECENT JOINT DA/RAF COMMUNIQUE AND THE ATTACK COMMUNIQUE ON AUDMAN AND ZIMMERMANN. THE RED BRIGADES RESPONDED TO THE RAF ATTACKS ON RAMSTEIN AND GENERAL KROESSEN WITH THE DECEMBER 1981 KIDNAPPING OF GENERAL LOZIER. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE RB HAD CARRIED OUT AN ATTACK AGAINST A U.S. OFFICIAL IN ITALY.

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TO THE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT" AND THE POLITICAL-MILITARY "INTEGRATION" OF EUROPE BY NATO WHICH IN TURN IS "SUBORDINATE TO THE U.S." THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO PLACED THE RB AND RAF "AT THE HIGHEST POINT" OF ATTACK AGAINST NATO AND OF "THE PROPOSAL FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHTING FRONT IN THE ENTIRE EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN AREA." FOR THE FIRST TIME, TWO EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS WERE ATTACKING COMMON TARGETS WITHIN THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF AN "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" TERRORIST FRONT. THE "FRONT" HAD ADVANCED TO A HIGHER STAGE. HOWEVER, THIS DEVELOPING PROCESS WAS AGAIN STYMIED BY RB AND RAF OPERATIONAL DEFEATS. ITALIAN COUNTER-TERRORIST FORCES RESCUED GENERAL DOZIER FROM THE RED BRIGADE HIDEOUT ON JANUARY 29, 1982. THE ARREST OF DOZIER'S CAPTORS AND

THE SUBSEQUENT ARRESTS OF OTHER RB MEMBERS AND LED TO A FURTHER DISINTEGRATION OF THE RED BRIGADES TO A REDUCED OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY FROM WHICH THEY ARE STILL ATTEMPTING TO REBUILD. WITH THE RB IN DISARRAY, AND INDISTINCT TERRORIST GROUPS IN FRANCE, PORTUGAL, AND GERMANY STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE, THE "FRONT" IN 1982 WOULD HAVE CONSISTED OF ONLY THE RAF. THE RAF POSSIBLY RECOGNIZED THIS AND, AS A RESULT, IN A MAJOR POSITION PAPER ISSUED IN MAY 1982 EMPHASIZED THE BUILDING OF A "GUERRILLA AND RESISTANCE FRONT" WITHIN WEST GERMANY. THIS POSITION PAPER DID MAKE SOME CURSORY REFERENCES TO THE "FRONT" IN WESTERN EUROPE, BUT THE FOCUS OF THIS PAPER WAS AN ANALYSIS OF THE RAF'S "MISTAKES" IN 1977 DURING THE SCHLEYER KIDNAPPING AND A DISCUSSION OF THE NECESSITY TO FORM A SOLID "ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT" IN WEST GERMANY. IT WAS AS IF THE RAF WAS ADMITTING THAT BEFORE THEY ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE A "FRONT" IN WESTERN EUROPE THEY FIRST SHOULD SOLIDIFY THE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" FORCES IN WEST GERMANY. THIS DEBATE AND ITS SUBSEQUENT ORGANIZING PROCESS DID NOT PROGRESS VERY

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RAF. IN NOVEMBER 1982 WEST GERMAN POLICE ARRESTED BRIGITTE BOHNHAUPT AND ADELHEID SCHULZ. IN DECEMBER CHRISTIAN ELAR WAS ARRESTED. THESE ARRESTS OF THREE OF THE TOP RAF LEADERS WAS SUPPLEMENTED BY THE DISCOVERY OF OVER A DOZEN RAF LOGISTICAL CACHES THROUGHOUT WEST GERMANY. THE RAF WAS TEMPORARILY IN DISARRAY, A PERIOD WHICH LASTED FOR EXACTLY TWO YEARS. IN OUR OPINION THE THIRD AND CURRENT ATTEMPT TO FORM A TERRORIST FRONT IN WESTERN EUROPE WAS PROBABLY INITIATED SOMETIME IN EARLY 1984.

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FROM AVAILABLE EVIDENCE WE INFER THAT SOME TYPE OF STRATEGIC BLUEPRINT WAS DEVELOPED AT A MEETING OR MEETINGS OF RAF AND DIRECT ACTION TERRORISTS, BELGIAN RADICALS, RED BRIGADISTS, AND VARIOUS KEY MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEES (IVK). WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS WERE ARRANGED AT THE MEETING(S): (1) THAT THE CCC WOULD EMERGE IN BELGIUM IN LATE 1984, (2) THAT DIRECT ACTION WOULD SHIFT THE FOCUS OF THEIR BOMBING ATTACKS TO "WESTERN IMPERIALIST" INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE ATLANTIC INSTITUTE, THE EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY, AND THE WEST EUROPEAN UNION, (3) THAT A RAF HUNGER STRIKE WOULD TAKE PLACE IN LATE 1984, (4) THAT A FORMAL DECLARATION INITIATING THIS FRONT WOULD BE ISSUED IN EARLY 1985, (5) THAT THIS DECLARATION WOULD BE "AUTHENTICATED" WITH ASSASSINATIONS BY THE RAF AND DA, (6) THAT OTHER EUROPEAN LEFTIST GROUPS WOULD JOIN THIS "FRONT" ONE BY ONE BY CARRYING OUT A MAJOR ATTACK IN THEIR COUNTRIES

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AND LINKING IT TO THE GOALS OF THE "FRONT" AND JOINT COMMUNIQUE BE ISSUED PERIODICALLY AND

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TWO POINTS ARE SPECULATIONS ON OUR PART. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THESE TWO POINTS ARE LOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FORMATION OF THIS FRONT. THESE TWO POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS ARE WHAT MAKES THIS "FRONT" SO DANGEROUS.

7. IN RETROSPECT, THERE WERE SIGNS IN 1984 THAT SOME TYPE OF EFFORT TO FORM THIS FRONT WAS BEING UNDERTAKEN. THE FIRST INDICATOR MAY HAVE BEEN THE AB ASSASSINATION OF LEAMON HUNT. THE ATTACK ON HUNT WAS A SURPRISING AND DRAMATIC TARGETING SHIFT FOR THE RED BRIGADES. THE ATTACK COMMUNIQUE NOTES THAT THE ASSASSINATION OF HUNT WAS A "DUEY TOWARDS THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT." THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THIS PHRASE EVER APPEARED IN A RB COMMUNIQUE. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO STATES: "THE RED BRIGADES PREDICT AND ENCOURAGE WITH EVERY MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL THE ACTIVE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN COMMUNISTS OF EVERY COUNTRY AND ELITE THEMSELVES. WITH DUE MODESTY BUT ALSO WITH FIRMNESS OF WILL, AS REFERENCE POINT FOR THIS ESSENTIAL POLITICAL PROCESS." THE ITALIAN SECURITY SERVICES EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN AT THE TIME THAT A EUROPEAN TERRORIST MOVEMENT MIGHT BE FORMING. ANOTHER SIGN WAS THE TARGETING SHIFT BY DIRECT ACTION IN THE SUMMER. FOLLOWING THE JULY ARRESTS OF FOUR RAF HARBORER MEMBERS IN FRANKFURT, THE SUBSEQUENT DISCOVERY OF DOCUMENTS SUGGESTING AN IMPENDING RAF TERRORIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NATO "MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX" WAS ANOTHER SIGNAL.

8. ANOTHER INDICATOR WAS THE CCC COMMUNIQUE ON THE HONEYWELL BOILING ON OCTOBER 9. THIS COMMUNIQUE UNWITTINGLY REVEALED A TENDENCY TO OTHER ACTIONS BY EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS AND POINTEDLY REFUSED ANY CONNECTIONS WITH DIRECT ACTION. WHILE EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS OCCASIONALLY MAKE SOME BRIEF REFERENCES TO OTHER GROUPS, WE HAVE NEVER SEEN A

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COMMUNIQUE FILLED WITH SO MANY "SOLIDARITY" REFERENCES TO OTHER GROUPS. ALSO INTERESTING WAS THIS PASSAGE: "IF, HOWEVER, IN CERTAIN CASES AND WELL-DEFINED TASKS, SOMEWHAT FROM DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS FIGHT TOGETHER, WE WILL MAINTAIN INDIVIDUALLY THE QUALITY OF EACH POLITICAL UNION WITH RELATION TO THE PARTICULAR CASE AND ITS AIM." WE INFER FROM THIS THAT THE QUESTION OF "JOINT OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS" WAS DISCUSSED AT THIS PRESUMED HYPOTHETICAL MEETING OF EUROPEAN TERRORIST REPRESENTATIVES. IT WAS, IN FACT, THIS HONEYWELL

COMMUNIQUE WHICH PROMPTED SY/TAG TO VOICE OUR CONCERN IN EARLY NOVEMBER THAT THE "FRONT" WAS FORMING (SEE 24 STATE 234391, PARA 6). THE FINAL INDICATOR WAS THE RAF COMMUNIQUE CLAIMING CREDIT FOR THE ATTEMPTED CAR BOMBING AT THE NATO OFFICER'S SCHOOL AT OPERAMMERGAU ON DECEMBER 14. THE COMMUNIQUE WARNED THAT THE "OFFENSIVE OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN GUERRILLA, THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT IN WESTERN EUROPE IS NOW BECOMING A REALITY." ALL OF THE ABOVE SIGNALS SUGGEST THAT SOMEBODY WAS ATTEMPTING TO MORILIZE AN "ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT" IN WESTERN EUROPE. THE JANUARY 1985 JOINT DA/RAF COMMUNIQUE WAS THE FIRST PRODUCT OF THIS EFFORT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, TWO EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS ISSUED A JOINT COMMUNIQUE. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE CONCEPT OF THE "FRONT" ACTUALLY

9. WHY DID THIS THIRD ATTEMPT SUCCEED? FIRST OF ALL, THERE ARE NOW MORE POTENTIAL CANDIDATES TO SUPPORT THIS FRONT TEAM IN THE PAST. THERE ARE THE CCC IN BELGIUM, DIRECT ACTION IN FRANCE, THE NOVEMBER 17 GROUP IN GREECE, THE RED BRIGADES, THE RAF, THE FP-25 IN

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PORTUGAL, ETA AND GRAPO IN SPAIN, AND THE IRA. THEORETICALLY, THESE GROUPS COULD FORM A TRULY EUROPEAN TERRORIST FRONT. AT NO OTHER TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN EUROPEAN TERRORIST MOVEMENT HAS THERE BEEN SO MANY VIABLE TERRORIST GROUPS OPERATING IN WESTERN EUROPE. SECONDLY, THE RAF, IN OUR OPINION THE PRIMARY ARCHITECT BEHIND THE CURRENT ATTEMPT, HAS RECOVERED FROM THE LATE 1982 ARRESTS OF KILAR AND MOENLAUFF. NO "FRONT" COULD DEVELOP IF THE RAF WAS IN A WEAKENED ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL STATE. THESE TWO DEVELOPMENTS FACILITATED THE RAF'S EFFORT TO ADVANCE THE CONCEPT OF THE FRONT. THIS FRONT IS ADMITTEDLY A PRECARIOUS AND TENUOUS ALLIANCE. AT PRESENT IT CONSISTS FORMALLY OF JUST TWO GROUPS. IF THE POLICE IN EITHER COUNTRY MAKE SOME KEY ARRESTS IN THESE GROUPS, THE FRONT WILL MOST LIKELY DISINTEGRATE, AS IT DID IN THE PREVIOUS TWO ATTEMPTS. KEEP IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT THE CONCEPT OF THE FRONT IS DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE HISTORY OF THE MODERN EUROPEAN TERRORIST MOVEMENT. ANOTHER ATTEMPT COULD BE MADE IN LATER YEARS. THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS FRONT IS DIALECTIC IN THAT EACH ATTEMPT AND FAILURE HAS TAKEN IT TO A HIGHER PLANE OF REALIZATION.

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10. IF, HOWEVER, THIS FRONT DEVELOPS UNIMPEDED BY POLICE ARRESTS, WE PROJECT THAT THE FOLLOWING EVENTS MAY TAKE PLACE: (1) A CCC ASSASSINATION OF EITHER A PROMINENT NATO OFFICER, A U.S. DIPLOMAT, A WESTERN INDUSTRIALIST OR BUSINESS EXECUTIVE WHOSE COMPANY IS INVOLVED IN THE DEFENSE INDUSTRIES, OR A BELGIAN OFFICIAL INVOLVED IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS TO ALLOW THE CRUISE SHIPMENT IN BELGIUM, (2) A RED BRIGADE ASSASSINATION OF A PERSON FROM A SIMILAR TARGETING SPECTRUM AS ABOVE, THAT IS, THE NATO MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AND U.S. DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL, (3) A JOINT OFFENSIVE OPERATION BY THESE GROUPS, MOST LIKELY AN ASSASSINATION

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OR KIDNAPPING, AND (4) INCREASED TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST U.S. AND NATO TARGETS IN GREECE, PORTUGAL, THE NETHERLANDS, AND POSSIBLY SPAIN. KEY INDICATORS AS TO HOW SUCCESSFULLY THIS FRONT IS PROGRESSING WILL BE (1) WHETHER OR NOT THE RB AND CCC ACKNOWLEDGES OR PARTICIPATES IN THIS FRONT, (2) WHETHER OR NOT ANOTHER JOINT COMMUNIQUE IS ISSUED, AND (3) WHAT TYPE OF OFFENSIVE THE FRONT IS ABLE TO IMPLEMENT DURING THE PRESIDENT'S MAY VISIT TO EUROPE. IN OUR OPINION IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO UNDERESTIMATE THE ACTUAL SIGNIFICANCE AND POTENTIAL DANGER OF THIS EUROPEAN TERRORIST FRONT WHATEVER ITS ACTUAL CURRENT FORM. AT MINIMUM, ITS EXISTENCE PROVIDES A SUPRANATIONAL BANNER FOR EUROPEAN LEFTIST GROUPS TO RALLY AROUND AND TEST THE COOPERATION OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON TERRORISM MATTERS. IN A WORST-CASE SCENARIO, THIS FRONT COULD PROVIDE AN ORGANIZATIONAL FORUM FOR THESE GROUPS TO INCREASE COMMUNICATION AMONG THEMSELVES, EXCHANGE INTELLIGENCE AND TACTICS, DICTATE TARGETS, AND SHARE EXPLOSIVES AND WEAPONS. WHILE THIS FRONT HAS NOT SEENED THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM, ITS EXISTENCE IS CAUSE FOR CONCERN.

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